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## XV.—THE HERMIT AND THE SAINT.

In the progress of Oriental stories westward, a movement which has been, to say the least, far from uncommon, the means and methods of transportation are usually extraordinarily difficult to ascertain. When analogues of tales well-known in the folk and formal literatures of Europe are found in the East, it is easy enough to assume that the parent form of the type was Asiatic in origin; but it is no light task to show the successive stages by which the material passed from the one continent to the other. In cases where the story was adopted by the Christian church at an early date for the moral or religious instruction of its adherents, there is perhaps less difficulty than elsewhere in believing that it was actually transplanted from the East, since the lives of the hermits of the desert, those reservoirs of Christian example, were strongly tinged by Oriental thought.

This latter kind of narrative is well illustrated by the tale of the hermit who, after years of austere living, discovers that another man, though surrounded by wealth and clothed with temporal authority, has become his equal or superior in righteousness. The discomforture of the good man when he learns that the essential character of holiness lies rather in humility and simplicity of heart than in outward show of piety gives the story point. Though obscured in some of the versions, it bears evidence that asceticism, even when it fell upon degenerate days, sometimes remembered the meaning of true piety. The narrative thus furnishes a refreshing contrast to the multitude of tales in which morbid laceration of spirit and flesh are commended at the expense of more useful virtues.

The characters of the little comedy differ greatly in the

several versions ; but one of them in almost every case is a holy man or a hermit, while the second usually lives in the world. The other differences are only such as might be expected in the development of a particular theme by different hands. As long ago as 1856 Simrock discussed the narrative in connection with its appearance as prologue to the Middle High German romance, *Der gute Gerhard*.<sup>1</sup> His work was done excellently, though it did not exhaust the subject. Somewhat later Köhler<sup>2</sup> discovered a couple of Jewish variants, which broadened the field of study materially and also called the attention of Benfey to the story. The latter was able to add<sup>3</sup> two Indian versions of the motive, one of them earlier than that discovered by Simrock, and both closer to the usual form of the tale. In 1880 Gaster printed,<sup>4</sup> in the same journal in which Köhler's paper had appeared, the later of the two Jewish versions mentioned by him, giving at the same time much additional information.

There the question rested, as far as I know, until 1902, when I treated the story briefly in my dissertation<sup>5</sup> with reference to a variant from the north of England. Unhappily, I did not then know the previous studies in the theme and so dealt for the most part with legendary material which I found independently. In the same year Menéndez Pidal, on his reception into the Spanish Academy, took the theme as the subject of his address<sup>6</sup> in treating the sources

<sup>1</sup> *Der gute Gerhard und die dankbaren Todten*, 1856.

<sup>2</sup> *Zum guten Gerhard*, *Germania* (1867) XII, pp. 55-60. Reprinted in *Kleinere Schriften*, 1890, I, pp. 32-38.

<sup>3</sup> *Zum guten Gerhard*, *Germania* XII, pp. 310-318.

<sup>4</sup> *Zur Quellenkunde deutscher Sagen und Märchen*, *Germania* XXV, pp. 274-285.

<sup>5</sup> *The North-English Homily Collection*, 1902, pp. 73-75.

<sup>6</sup> *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la Recepción pública de D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, 1902, pp. 5-65. Dr. S. Griswold Morley of Harvard drew my attention to this monograph and added to his kindness by lending me his copy.

of a play by Tirso de Molina. This discourse contains the most adequate account of the tale that has yet been made. The author sketches its wanderings with his accustomed brilliance and erudition, adding several variants which were before unknown. My only excuse for treating the subject again is the fact that Menéndez Pidal for some reason neglected the material in Simrock's book, and that the versions which I myself have found throw new light on certain features of the migration of the theme.

The oldest variant that has yet been discovered is found in the Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*,<sup>1</sup> of which the approximate date in its earliest form is the fifth century B. C.<sup>2</sup> A short summary will be sufficient for our purpose, since the homiletics with which this early form is plentifully garnished could, of necessity, not pass into the popular versions told in other lands. It must also be regarded as extremely unlikely that so highly developed a literary form as this of the *Mahābhārata* became the progenitor by lineal descent of the folk-tales dealing with the theme, which are scattered over the world, unless, indeed, by means of popular analyses derived from the epic.

A virtuous brahman, named Kauçika, once stood under a tree, reciting the Vedas, when a crane let fall its droppings upon him. In anger he cursed the bird, so that it fell dead to the earth. He then went to a village to ask alms and was kept waiting by a woman, who turned from him to attend to the wants of her husband. He became angry at this and asked her whether she was ignorant of the honor due to brahmans and of their power. The woman answered. "I am no crane, O first of the brahmans." Whereupon, she read him a lecture on her own duty as a wife and his as a

<sup>1</sup> III, vv. 13652-14115. Analyzed by Benfey, *Germania* XII, pp. 311-316, and by Menéndez Pidal, pp. 11-17.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, 1900, p. 285.

brahman and told him to seek true virtue in the person of a hunter at Mithilā. The brahman found this man in a slaughter-house, selling game and buffalo meat. The hunter informed him that his coming had been foreseen by himself and invited him to his house, where he treated him with all courtesy. To the brahman's protest against his carrying on so vile a trade, the hunter responded that it was his duty, that he cared for his old parents with reverence, spoke the truth, fostered no malice, gave what alms he could, and lived with manly integrity. He then showed his parents and how well he cared for them. Turning on the brahman, he pointed out to him that in leaving his parents without comfort in their age he acted selfishly and should return to care for them. This the converted brahman proceeded to do.

The story of the brahman was copied in the collection of tales entitled *Cukasaptati*,<sup>1</sup> which was made about 1070 A. D.<sup>2</sup> This form is much briefer than the other but, as far as is evident from the summary which I follow, changes no feature of the tale except to relate that the hunter actually fed his parents while giving the brahman an exposition of his duty. The names are, of course, changed throughout.

An entirely different tale, which yet has sufficient likeness to ours to be worth noting is found in the *Rāmāyana*,<sup>3</sup> an epic now regarded as later than the *Mahābhārata* but as perhaps existing in its primitive form as early as the fifth century B. C.<sup>4</sup> In this, the king Viçvamitra is instructed by Brahma that a holy life is better than war and lives as a hermit. His self-righteousness in this estate is rebuked, and by successive stages of a thousand years he is brought to the

<sup>1</sup> Analyzed by Benfey, *Germania* XII, pp. 317, 318.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> Book I. Analyzed by Simrock, pp. 40-42.

<sup>4</sup> Monier-Williams, *Indian Epic Poetry*, p. 3; Macdonell, p. 309.

holiness of a brahman. The point of this narrative is altogether different from that of the other, but it tallies with the moral of at least two European variants, which will be discussed below.

Whatever the ultimate source of the theme, whether it was started on its wandering career by the *Mahābhārata* or, as seems more probable, by the folk-tale which the epic used, it next appears in western Asia with certain highly significant variations in its form. That it passed from India to Persia before the Sassanid empire was destroyed by the Mohammedans in 641 A. D. cannot reasonably be doubted, though there is only the evidence of probability that it existed in Pahlavi.<sup>1</sup> Persia of the middle period was certainly a great distributor of tales; and ours next appears among the Mohammedans and Jews, whose relations with Persia were those of antagonists and neighbors.

Two Arabian and two Hebrew variants have thus far been discovered. Three of these fall into a group by themselves and closely resemble the story in the *Mahābhārata*, while the fourth, though markedly dissimilar to the other Oriental forms, is strikingly like the prevailing European type. Let us first consider the group which I have mentioned.

This includes one Arabian story and the two Hebrew forms, of which the Arabian and the older Jewish variants correspond in all essential traits, except that the names have been changed. An analysis of the Arabian<sup>2</sup> will therefore suffice. On Mount Sinai Moses asks Allah who will be his companion in Paradise and is told through an angel to go to

<sup>1</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, pp. 17-20, for an admirable rapid sketch of the path of the tale from India to the Arabs, Jews, and Christians.

<sup>2</sup> I follow the summary of Menéndez Pidal, pp. 20-22. He takes the tale (see p. 59) from F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas moriscas*, 1885, I, pp. 315-322, or from the analysis given by M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 1893, p. 291, which do not differ essentially.

a certain city where dwells a butcher called Jacob, who will be his associate in the next world. He goes to the city, finds that Jacob is regarded as desperately wicked, but asks him for lodging that night. His request is reluctantly granted. Jacob then goes into an inner room where he feeds, washes, and tenderly cares for his aged parents. It is revealed to the old father, when he prays, that his son will be the companion of Moses in Paradise. When Jacob comes out, the observant Moses tells who he is. The aged couple hear the news and forthwith die of joy. In the older Jewish tale,<sup>1</sup> Joshua ben Illem and the butcher Nannas are the names of the two characters. As this Hebrew variant is admittedly older than the one cited below,<sup>2</sup> and as the Hebrew probably comes from the Arabian, or directly from the Persian, it appears that this double variant must be at least as old as the eleventh century.

The younger Jewish tale was the work of a rabbi Nissim, whose identity and date are uncertain. He was either Nissim ben Jacob, who lived about 1030, or Nissim ben Ascher ben Meschullam of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> A pious and learned man prays that he may know who will be his companion in Paradise. He is told by a dream and a voice from heaven that a certain butcher is the man. He finds the butcher and asks him about his life, learning that he gives half of his income to the poor and lives on the other

<sup>1</sup> Noted by Köhler, *Germania* XII, p. 59, after Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 588, from an old collection of stories on the Decalogue. Menéndez Pidal, p. 59, cites it from the Spanish redaction found in M. Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-spanische Chrestomathie*, 1896, pp. 92-94.

<sup>2</sup> Köhler and Menéndez Pidal, as cited.

<sup>3</sup> See Köhler, as cited. The story was translated in A. M. Tendlau, *Fellmeiers Abende. Märchen und Geschichten aus grauer Vorzeit*, 1856, pp. 110 ff., whence it was taken by Köhler, pp. 55-58. Another translation was made by Gaster, *Germania* XXV, pp. 280-282, from Jellinek, *Beth-hamidrasch*, pp. 136 ff. See Menéndez Pidal, pp. 24, 25, for a summary.

half. When questioned further, he relates as a special deed of merit on his part how he once bought a captive maiden at the cost of almost all his property, reared her in his house, and was about to give her to his son in marriage. At the wedding feast, a young man appeared to whom the maiden had been long ago betrothed. With his son's consent, he gave her to this man together with the gifts prepared for the young couple. This, he says, is the most meritorious deed that he recalls doing. The pious and learned man concludes that he is happy in having such an one for his equal in Paradise.

The forms just summarized are alike in changing the hunter of the *Mahābhārata* to a butcher, and in simplifying the double humiliation of the brahman to an appeal on the part of the first person of the tale to know his equal in virtue.<sup>1</sup> The adoption of the motive by peoples whose social customs differed from those of India sufficiently explains these changes of detail. The type represented by the Arabian and the older Jewish tales follows the Indian original in making reverential care for parents the virtue immediately praised. The fundamental precept, however, is not this, as Menéndez Pidal appears to think, but rather the lesson that true goodness lies in the humble performance of duty without outward show of piety. Were it not so, such changes as those found in Nissim's tale and in most of the variants still to be cited would be inexplicable. The later Hebrew variant, to be sure, is not a simple form but a compound of our theme with *The Ransomed Woman*, which is often found in combination with *The Grateful Dead*.<sup>2</sup> The butcher gives half of his income to the poor and instances his kindness to a captive maiden as the one act of his life which merits special grace. The point of the original story

<sup>1</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, p. 19, for comment on these changes.

<sup>2</sup> I hope soon to publish a new study of these related types.



is not altered, as will be observed, in spite of the addition of new material.

The same thing is true of the second Arabian tale, which, though too late to be regarded of itself as a source of the European variants, is of peculiar interest. *The Pious King*<sup>1</sup> is one of the many stories which were appended to the *Arabian Nights* without any claim to be regarded as really a part of that collection. A holy man, who has lived all his life in piety, is troubled by the removal of a cloud which has long overshadowed him. He sets out to discover who is more worthy of the protection of heaven than himself and finds a king, who in the midst of outward splendor lives privately in great austerity with his wife, supporting himself by the labor of his hands. Here we have in a fully developed form the type which the influence of the church was to make predominant in Europe,—the holy ascetic, the heavenly warning, the man in authority doing his penance secretly. The last factor, the transformation of the second person of the narrative from a despised position to the height of worldly honor, emphasizes the real significance of the motive as stated above.<sup>2</sup> The story, as we have it, is later than several of the ecclesiastical adaptations of Europe; but the source of the story may well have been the ancestor, not many degrees removed, of some of the very similar versions in the West.

No less than five of these are found in the *Vitae Patrum* attached to the lives of as many hermit saints of the desert. Their connection with the East is thus not remote, while by means of the popularity of the collections in which they were imbedded they became the property of all Christendom.

<sup>1</sup> *Nachträge zu 1001 Nacht*, trans. von Hammer and Zinserling, 1823, 1, pp. 281-284. Given by Simrock, pp. 42-45.

<sup>2</sup> Menéndez Pidal, p. 26, notes that the second person of the tale changes in the Christian variants, but he does not use *The Pious King*.

It was natural enough that the theme should be applied to the hermits, as Menéndez Pidal shows,<sup>1</sup> because they were so peculiarly tempted to spiritual pride by reason of their renunciation of the world.

The tale of Paul and Anthony<sup>2</sup> may first be mentioned, since the characters are supposed to have lived as early as the end of the fourth century. Anthony was, indeed, the founder of the solitary life. When the two hermits have lived in holiness for sixty years, one of them is informed by a voice from heaven that the other is better than he. On investigation he finds that this pinnacle of goodness has been attained by rigorous asceticism. Here the point of the narrative is greatly obscured, since the piety of the two hermits does not differ in kind. Somewhat the same thing is true of the story concerning the hermit Pyoterius,<sup>3</sup> who is told by an angel that a certain nun is better than he. He finds her living with great humility of heart and demeanor a life of extreme austerity. Both of these narratives recall the anecdote from the *Rāmāyana* cited above.

In the case of two other tales, attached to the lives of Macharius and Eucharistus or Eucharis, there is a closer correspondence with the typical form of *The Pious King*. In the first of these,<sup>4</sup> St. Macharius is informed by a voice from heaven that two women are more than his peers in the sight of God. He visits them and learns that they have

<sup>1</sup> P. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus Latina*, xxiii, col. 22 ff. Analyzed by Simrock, pp. 17-21; Menéndez Pidal, pp. 27, 28. The latter refers to Herolt, *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, H. 4, and *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*, Humilitas, No. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, LXXIII, col. 984 and 1140; LXXIV, col. 299. Simrock, pp. 21-23, and Menéndez Pidal, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Migne, LXXIII, col. 778. Simrock, pp. 23, 24; *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 74; Menéndez Pidal, p. 29. On p. 60, the latter refers to Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, M. 11, and *Libro de los exemplos*, No. 145.

lived in obedience to their husbands for fifteen years without ever giving way to anger. William de Wadington, it may be noted, when he retold this story in Old French in the latter part of the thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> lengthened the period of good-temper from fifteen to twenty years. In the story of Eucharistius,<sup>2</sup> two hermits learn by means of a heavenly voice that their betters in piety are a man named Eucharistius (Eucharius) and his wife. The result of a visit to the couple is the discovery that they live together in continence on one-third of their wages as shepherds, giving the remainder in charity. In both of these tales, it will be seen, the type is somewhat changed from that found in *The Pious King* by the fact that the exemplar of goodness is not a man in high station, yet they are closer to it than to the older Arabian and Hebrew forms in that feminine virtue is substituted for masculine, or is a partaker of it.

In the fifth of the stories found in the *Vitae Patrum*, however, the characteristic trait of *The Pious King* is preserved, whence it was transmitted, as will be shown, to a couple of later tales which complete a highly interesting chain of narratives extending from Arabia to England. This story concerns the hermit Paphnutius<sup>3</sup> and is triplicate in form. The hermit is first told by an angel that a certain flute-player is his equal in virtue. He investigates and finds that the man has only lately repented of his evil life as a robber, but

<sup>1</sup> See *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, etc., ed. Furnivall, 1862, p. 62 ff. Re-ed. E. E. T. S. 119, 1901, pp. 69 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, LXXIII, col. 1006; *Scala Celi*, by Joannes Junior (Gobius), ed. 1480, Castitas 8. Simrock, pp. 24, 25; *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 74; Menéndez Pidal, p. 29. Additional references from the latter: Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, M. 7, and *Magnum Spec. Exemp.*, Castitas, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, LXXIII, col. 1170 ff. Simrock, pp. 26-30; *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 74. Menéndez Pidal, pp. 31-33, gives the first adventure only, and on p. 60 additional references to Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, lib. XIV, cap. 76; Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, M. 8 and 9; and *Scala Celi*, Misericordia.

has acquired favor with heaven by acting the good Samaritan to a poor woman. The hermit is edified and returns to his cell. Again he is informed, this time by a voice from heaven, that a certain *protocomes* (= admiral or provost) is as good as he. Accordingly, he visits the provost and finds that for thirty years he has lived with his wife in some splendor, but honestly, charitably, and continently. Paphnutius learns another lesson in true piety and departs. Again he is told that a certain merchant is his equal in goodness and finds that the man conducts his business as a lover of Christ should. This story combines the two Arabian types and adds a third anecdote for good measure. The comparison with the converted robber who follows the lowly profession of flute-player bears an unmistakeable likeness to Nissim's Jewish tale and must derive from the same source. The second part is as unmistakeably allied to *The Pious King*. Which of the two versions was first told of Paphnutius it is impossible to determine. The process of reduplication here shown has been the frequent resource of story-tellers in every age.

Before passing to the secular adaptations of the *Paphnutius* legend, it must be noted that the tale thus connected with the lives of five hermits of the African desert is told of Pope Gregory the Great<sup>1</sup> and of the sainted bishop Severinus of France.<sup>2</sup> In the first of these variants, a hermit asks God who will be his peer in the life to come and learns that it will be Pope Gregory. He laments that his voluntary poverty avails him so little, since his glory is not to surpass

<sup>1</sup> I cite from the summary by Menéndez Pidal, p. 30, who refers to Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, T. 9; *Magnum Spec. Exemp.*, *Judicium temerarium*, No. 10, from *Vita S. Gregorii Papae*, lib. 2, cap. 59; and *Libro de los enzemplos*, No. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Surius, *De Probatiss. Sanctorum Vitis*, 1618, IV, pp. 359, 360. In part by Gregory of Tours, *Liber de Gloria Confessorum* XLV, Migne, LXXI, col. 862. Summary by Simrock, pp. 33-35.

that of a rich pope. The following night, the Lord asks him how he dares to compare his poverty with Gregory's wealth, inasmuch as he is more attached to the only thing he possesses, a cat which he fondles all day long, than is Gregory to all his splendor. In the second variant, a hermit and a bishop are told by God that Severinus is their superior and equal in virtue respectively. They find that though he lives surrounded by wealth he holds it in little esteem, makes no more account of it, in fact, than the hermit does of a wooden drinking-cup which he has preserved since the days of his worldliness. This anecdote with its slight variations is little more than a recasting of the second part of the *Paphnutius* legend applied to the praise of two princes of the church.<sup>1</sup> It may be surmised that the story about Gregory gave rise to that about Severinus.

The next transformation is more interesting in that it brings us into another field of literature, though an adjacent one. It is the story of the *Provost of Aquileia*, which is found twice in Old French. In the first of these variants the form and treatment are those of a *fabliau*, though the subject better befits the *conte dévot*.<sup>2</sup> It must be classed as the former, since its purpose was evidently anything but edification. The second variant, closely related to the first in content indeed, fulfils better the requirements of the *conte dévot* and may be so considered. It is the work of the

<sup>1</sup> In the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria, the hermit Adrian, who has lived sixty years in holiness, declares that he is surpassed in faith by Catherine soon after her conversion. See Capgrave, *Life of St. Katharine*, ed. Horstmann and Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 100, 1893, Book III, vv. 855 ff., p. 222. Menéndez Pidal, p. 61, notes that at the end of the *Barlaam and Josaphat* in the *Vitae Patrum* it is revealed to Josaphat that he will have the same glory as his father. He believes himself worthy of more, and Barlaam appears to him to rebuke him for such pride.

<sup>2</sup> *Du Prevost d'Aquilée ou d'un Hermite que la Dame Fist Baigner en Aigue Froide*, Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes*, 1823, II, p. 187. Simrock, pp. 32, 33. *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 74.

legend-writer of the fifteenth century, Jean Mielot.<sup>1</sup> A certain hermit, who for thirty years (in Mielot ten years) had lived in solitude, prayed heaven to learn who was his equal and was told that the Provost of Aquileia was the man. He found the provost riding out from the city with a gay company and was given a ring to take to the officer's wife. With her he underwent some very humiliating and decidedly risky adventures; but his virtue was rather strengthened than destroyed by his hard experience, since he found that the life of the provost was really much more austere than his own. Here we have the narrative of Paphnutius over again not only in essentials but with so many similar details that one can scarcely doubt the connection between the two. The man of real virtue in both cases is a provost. He, or the hermit, has lived for thirty years in abstinence and humility. The only really original part of the French story is the account of the holy man's adventures with the wife. This is due to the Gallic humor of the poet, who thus sought, and doubtless successfully, to tickle the ears of his middle-class audience. The correspondence of titles in the two narratives would be almost sufficient to prove the parentage of the Old French version, even if the similarity of incident were lacking. There can be little doubt, it seems to me, that we have to do with a story in *fabliau* form directly based upon an anecdote in the life of a saint.

The probability of this is measurably increased by the transformation next to be noted. This is the story of *The Hermit and Saint Oswald*, found in its complete form in the collection of homilies in the vernacular, written about the beginning of the fourteenth century in the extreme north of England.<sup>2</sup> It was briefly retold in the *Promptuarium*

<sup>1</sup> *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, ed. G. F. Warner, Roxb. Club, 1885, No. 71, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> In the homily for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity: MS. Ashmole 42, ff. 155 a-156 b; MS. Camb. (Univ. Libr.) Gg. V. 31, ff. 97 b-101 a; MS.

*Exemplorum*<sup>1</sup> by John Herolt, a Dominican, who wrote in the early part of the fifteenth century. Here King Oswald, the Northumbrian saint of the seventh century steps into the place of the provost. The hermit is impersonally enough named Goodman in the metrical homily but is called Symeon by Herolt. In almost every detail this North-English variant conforms to the Old French *fabliau*. Where Mielot differs from the latter, the story of St. Oswald is the same. Thus they agree in such a detail as the length of time which the hermit had passed in solitude. The only point of divergence concerns the adventures of the hermit with the wife, where the farcical situation of his treatment as provost or king is somewhat more skilfully worked out in the French. In the English there is also an introductory episode, an allegorical account of how the hermit's attention was directed to the superior virtue of the king by watching two fish in a stream. Herolt has no hint of this, which is probably only an embellishment introduced by the author of these popular sermons.

The question arises,—how was the story transferred from the *fabliau* to the homily? It is not told in the ordinary lives of St. Oswald, yet that it was currently related of him is proved by Herolt's summary. We must conclude that popular tradition first ascribed the tale to a well-known saint, taking it over in the specialized form in which it appeared as a *fabliau*. We have thus very clearly the reversion of a narrative once legendary from secular to ecclesiastical use. This is the more interesting because the form of the tale is so little altered in the transference,

Camb. (Univ. Libr.) Dd. I. 1, ff. 159 b–162 b; MS. Lambeth 260, f. 46 a–b; MS. Harl. 2391, ff. 198 a–201 a; MS. Phillipps 8122, ff. 118 a–122 a; MS. Phillipps 8254, ff. 116 a–120 a; MS. Bodl. Libr. Eng. poet. c. 4 (a fragment). Anal. *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 73.

<sup>1</sup> *Prompt. Exemp.*, A. 7. *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 75.

though it was intended merely to amuse in the one case and to edify as well as interest in the other. It illustrates to advantage the methods of hagiological borrowing, that nothing was counted common or unclean which could be turned to homiletic use.

The story of *The Hermit and the Saint* found its way by another path into the secular literature of Europe in Rudolf von Ems' *Der gute Gerhard*, a Middle High German poem of the early thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The emperor Otto is represented as praying to know what reward he shall have for his good deeds. A heavenly voice informs him that his pride has destroyed his merit and advises him to take the merchant, Gerhard of Cologne for his example. The emperor goes to Gerhard and asks him the secret of his goodness. In reply he hears a form of the story of *The Ransomed Woman*, almost identical with that of Nissim's Hebrew tale. The narrative is somewhat embellished, it is true. The butcher has become a rich merchant,<sup>2</sup> the captive maiden a princess, and the lost suitor a prince. Yet, as Köhler pointed out,<sup>3</sup> the story is not essentially altered save in the opening scene, which is everywhere treated with some freedom. Where Rudolf found the tale we do not know; but he was familiar with learned literature,<sup>4</sup> so that we may surmise the existence of an equivalent of the Jewish narrative in Latin by the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Another variant of our theme is the story told of Richard Lionheart in the Spanish romance *El Conde Lucanor*<sup>5</sup> written

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Haupt, 1840. Analyzed by Simrock, pp. 2 ff., and by Gaster, *Germania* xxv, pp. 275-280.

<sup>2</sup> The only other variant, as far as I know, which makes the second person a merchant, is the third adventure of *Paphnutius*. It tallies with *Gerhard* in no other way, however.

<sup>3</sup> *Germania* xii, p. 59. Later by Gaster, *Germania* xxv, p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> He produced versions of *Barlaam and Josaphat* and *Eustace*, the latter now lost.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. iv, *Biblioteca de autores españoles* LI, pp. 37 ff.; ed. Knust, 1900, pp. 306 ff. Menéndez Pidal, p. 31.



by Don Juan Manuel in the fourteenth century. Here a hermit prays to heaven and learns through an angel that his equal in Paradise is King Richard. Upon investigation he finds that the king's claim to divine consideration is a deed of valor which he performed against the Moors in Palestine. The opening of this tale recalls *The Provost of Aquileia*, but the similarity is so slight that it does not justify any conclusion as to relationship.

Spanish literature furnishes a second version of the motive, however, which can be traced to better advantage. This is *El Condenado por Desconfiado*,<sup>1</sup> the play by Tirso de Molina which Menéndez Pidal has made the objective point in his monograph on *The Hermit and the Saint*. After his exhaustive study, nothing further remains to be said with reference to Tirso's immediate sources. For the sake of completeness, however, I shall summarize the plot and give Menéndez Pidal's conclusions as to its origin. As the result of a dream, the hermit Paulo begins to doubt his hope of salvation and cries out for a sign. The devil appears in the form of an angel and tells him that his fate will be the same as that of Henrico of Naples. When Paulo finds that Henrico is considered one of the worst men of the city, he casts off his habit and becomes a robber. In the second act, Henrico is shown caring for his aged father, but he is obliged to flee from Naples on account of a murder and falls into the hands of Paulo, becoming a member of his robber band. In the third act, Henrico returns to Naples to care for his father, is caught and condemned, comes to repentance through the tears of the old man, and is carried to heaven. Paulo, on the contrary, is wounded in a fight, doubts the

<sup>1</sup> *Biblioteca de autores españoles* v, pp. 184-203. Summaries by Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, 1890, I, pp. 345, 346, and Menéndez Pidal, pp. 35-44. For a bibliography of editions, adaptations, and translations, see the latter work, pp. 57, 58.

grace of God though told of Henrico's end, and is devoured by hell. This bald outline can give no notion of the merit of a play which Menéndez Pidal calls<sup>1</sup> the "más espléndido retoño" of the Oriental tale. Tirso de Molina united the story of the robber flute-player of the *Paphnutius* legend with the Moorish version of the story about the butcher who revered his parents, adding thereto a tale called *The Apostate Hermit*.<sup>2</sup> From this material he fashioned a drama of genuine poetic merit, though sufficiently bizarre in plot.

Simrock treated two other stories in connection with the theme. One of these, a folk-tale from Baden,<sup>3</sup> tells how a youth, one of the somewhat numerous class who seek release from a compact made in their behalf with the devil, visits a hermit and is sent on to a murderer, who is expiating his sins by terrible penance. This scarcely belongs with the group under consideration, even though the reformed robber is represented as holier than the hermit. In point of fact, it is a variant of *The Child Vowed to the Devil*, a story known to mediævalists in several forms, one of which has recently been published by M. Paul Meyer.<sup>4</sup> The second story, which Simrock prints entire,<sup>5</sup> is not of much interest for the present purpose because it is a modern adaptation from printed sources. It has the triplicate form peculiar to the Paphnutius legend and possibly came from that version more or less directly, as indeed Simrock recognized.

GORDON HALL GEROULD.

<sup>1</sup> P. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, pp. 44-48, 61-64.

<sup>3</sup> From Baader, *Badische Volkssagen*, No. 301. I have not had access to the book and rely upon Simrock, pp. 38-40.

<sup>4</sup> *Romania* xxxiii, pp. 163-178. Simrock refers to a couple of variants in German folk-literature. I have at my command several other folk versions, but will reserve discussion of the tale for another occasion.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 30-32.